Goodby to 1951—*By Freda Kirchwey*

THE Nation

December 29, 1951

Frank ("Midas") McKinney

Everything He Touches Turns to Gold

BY IRVING LEIBOWITZ

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The Arab-Refugee Problem

Nineteen Leaders Propose a Plan

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Uncle Sam's Bitter Nephews

BY SAM A. JAFFE

JAN 5 1952
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AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Law's Diminishing Returns

Los Angeles

FOR twenty-three years Alexander H. Schullman, a prominent Los Angeles attorney, has specialized in labor law. While practicing in Pittsburgh before he came to Los Angeles he represented one of the first industrial unions, before the C. I. O. was born, and made a contract stick for Pennsylvania packing-house workers. In the celebrated Orloff-Opek case he defended the United Mine Workers against a charge of killing two policemen in Morgantown, West Virginia. Since coming to California to handle litigation which developed out of the A. F. of L. waterfront strike in 1936, he has devoted about 80 per cent of his practice to A. F. of L. clients and made a fine record of victories.

His labor clients have had good reason to be pleased. Often pressure has been exerted to discourage him from representing labor or other groups which had antagonized conservative elements. When a fundamental labor principle affecting labor as a whole was involved, Schullman frequently handled a case without pay—notably the Screen Extras' fight for autonomy, the Di Giorgio farm-labor case, and the Los Angeles rent-control proceedings, which he directed from a hospital bed after he was seriously injured in a plane crash. Some of his real-estate clients, resenting his efforts in behalf of the tenants, ceased then to use his services.

Last July, when fifteen Communist leaders were arrested in California for alleged violations of the Smith act, Schullman was asked to join the battery of defense attorneys. His friends reminded him of the climate of fear and hysteria and warned him that he would certainly become a victim of "guilt by association" and suffer the loss of his practice and reputation. He decided not to jeopardize his position, and quoted a high fee to the Communists seeking his aid, knowing they would not be able to raise it.

As time went on, he became less and less pleased with his decision. He was outraged when the Communists were held in excessively high bail—$75,000, later reduced to $50,000, and finally to $5,000 and $10,000. He was repeatedly urged to join other non-Communist lawyers in the fight against the Smith act. He weighed the factors again and this time sought only his own counsel. From 1936 to 1940, he recalled, organized labor had denounced the Smith act and had helped to defeat similar legislation which "makes free speech a crime." He found the language of the Smith act strikingly parallel to legislation passed in Germany in 1933 and used first against Communists, then against trade unions, and finally against minorities. He was reminded that the Smith act had already been invoked against labor, in the Dunne case, in which teamsters had been indicted and convicted for violence and striking.

When the trial of the fifteen Communist leaders begins in Los Angeles, Alexander Schullman will defend, for an exceptionally low fee, Philip ("Slim") Connelly, Los Angeles editor of the *People's World* and a former state president of the C. I. O., and his wife, Dorothy Healey, chairman of the Los Angeles Communist Party organization.

In less time than it took Schullman to reach his decision, his law practice vanished. Both labor and non-labor clients informed him in careful phrases that his legal services would not be required so long as he associated with and defended Communists. Union leaders asked him to certify that he was not a Communist. But Schullman could not be intimidated—not by economic boycott or by irate phone calls, threats, or anonymous letters. To clients who asked for an explanation, he pointed out that he had often represented murderers, rapists, and divorcees—without being charged with any identity with their character or views.

Instead of trying to stop him, labor should have joined him at the forefront of the fight. "Unfortunately," he told his former clients, "labor itself has forgotten its objections to the Smith act, as it has forgotten its objections to the Taft-Hartley act." "I disagree completely and unequivocally with the principles, aims, and pronunciamientos of the defendants," he said, "but as long as no clear and present danger exists and no overt act is established, free speech must be safeguarded."

Finally, even the Retail Clerks' local, which he had counseled for ten years without losing a case, pulled out. "I would like to practice labor law," he said, "and I'm going to find out if it is still possible." If Schullman were in the habit of sitting in judgment instead of giving counsel, he might be tempted to speculate on whether organized labor could now enjoy its present pious detachment if the unions had been refused expert legal support in leaner and tougher years.

The law of diminishing returns, as it relates to labor lawyers devoted to civil liberties, has received still another significant local application. A. L. Wirin, who has been identified with a long list of important civil-liberties cases in California, has represented the Los Angeles C. I. O. Council since 1948. Recently the local of the United Automobile Workers at the North American Aviation plant called upon the council to oust Mr. Wirin as its attorney on the ground that his activities on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union were "drawing increasing criticism from many C. I. O. members." "I have felt all along, and still do," replied Mr. Wirin, "that these activities in behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union have been consistent with the best traditions of the C. I. O. and of all democratic labor unions—a tradition rooted in the American Bill of Rights."

By penalizing such distinguished friends of labor as Alexander Schullman and A. L. Wirin for their disinterested and consistent defense of the Bill of Rights, sections of the labor movement in Los Angeles are neither winning friends nor placating enemies. On the contrary, they are betraying the best interests of organized labor.

HANNAH BLOOM

[*Hannah Bloom is* The Nation's *correspondent in Los Angeles.*]

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

IT IS WITH GREAT SATISFACTION THAT WE present in this issue the proposals for a solution of the Arab-refugee problem presented last week in the form of a memorandum to the United Nations. The individuals signing the document are assurance that it represents enlightened, non-partisan American opinion. The proposals, in the preparation of which the Nation Associates took an active interest, should commend themselves, we believe, to all persons who share our concern lest the miserable plight of the Arab refugees—now facing their third winter as homeless dependents on inadequate relief—continues indefinitely as a source of friction and possible war. We urge that the plan set forth in the memorandum be adopted by the State Department as the basis of an American initiative in the United Nations. Sponsored by this country and backed by the promise of a substantial contribution to the development program, the plan could settle the refugee problem and bring peace to the Middle East. For reasons of security as well as humanity the effort should be made.

*

POSTSCRIPTS TO OUR POSTSCRIPT TO *Collier's* World War III continue to descend upon us. The latest, the authenticity of which we have verified, is the following: A major New York publishing house had a contract to publish the by now famous special issue of *Collier's* as a book. But at least three of the contributors to the special issue—Edward R. Murrow, Robert E. Sherwood, and Walter P. Reuther—recently notified the publisher that they did not care to have their articles included. In the meantime something like a rank-and-file protest movement had developed among the editorial employees of the publishing house to convince the firm, if possible, that the book should not be published. The attitude of the staff, we are told, was noted, but what tipped the scales against publication was the withdrawal of the three leading contributors. Mr. Murrow, it is said, was largely influenced by the European view of the special issue; Mr. Sherwood, by the delayed reaction of certain officials in Washington. Mr. Reuther's second thoughts were indicated in his letter to *The Nation* in the issue of December 8. In any case the book will not be published. From England comes this item: J. B. Priestley, returning from a visit to the United States, has announced that he no longer considers himself a Socialist. "Ten years ago my views were vaguely Socialist," Mr. Priestley said, "but they are not now." His announcement may not be unrelated to the fact that British Laborites have severely criticized him for doing his bit in *Collier's* Third World War.

*

BUT PERHAPS THE CONCLUSIVE POSTSCRIPT on *Collier's* World War III was the formal protest lodged by the United Nations over the unauthorized use of the U. N. emblem on the editorial page of the issue, where it appeared not on the uniform of a fictitious U. N. soldier but as a seal under an editorial entitled The Unwanted War. The protest was lodged pursuant to a resolution adopted by the Assembly on December 7, 1946, governing the use of the emblem. Caught red-handed, as it were, all that Edward Anthony, publisher of *Collier's*, could come up with was the inept rejoinder that the special issue had been criticized by Andrei Vishinsky and, "in this country," by the *Daily Worker*. Somehow Mr. Anthony managed to forget about the Portland *Oregonian*, the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, and a dozen other newspapers that took sharp issue with *Collier's* "unwanted" but highly profitable war of words and pictures. On the same day that the U. N. protest was released, the press reported a speech by Dr. George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, who for the last eighteen months has served as United States High Commissioner in Bavaria. Among the "fears" under which the Germans live, Dr. Shuster mentioned the fear that America has aggressive intentions and said that this had been increased by *Collier's* special issue. Nearly everyone but Mr. Anthony of *Collier's* seems to agree that publication of the issue was a propaganda disaster.

*

IN SIGNING A NEW EXECUTIVE ORDER creating a special committee to assist defense agencies in obtaining compliance with directives against racial discrimination in employment, President Truman has made

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

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Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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another gesture of support for civil rights. Five contracting agencies will be represented on the new committee—the Department of Defense, the Department of Labor, the Atomic Energy Commission, the General Services Administration, and the Defense Materials Procurement Agency. The six public members will be appointed by the President. The new committee, to be known as the Committee on Government Contract Compliance, may "examine and study," "confer and advise," and "submit recommendations," but it has no specific enforcement powers. Presumably the committee could hold public hearings which might be of value if President Truman names six strong public members to it. Commenting on the new order, Senator George cynically observed: "It looks like he [Mr. Truman] may be preparing to run for President again." While the order is neither mild enough to conciliate the Dixiecrats nor strong enough to please the civil-rights groups, it is in line with the Administration's new policy of seeking to call off the civil war in the Democratic Party over the civil-rights program. Certainly this order and Senator Hubert Humphrey's recent 2,000-word letter to twenty prominent Southern editors, appealing for a "hearing" and "more understanding of our objectives," represent a retreat from the civil-rights stand which the Administration took in 1948.

*

ALTHOUGH HIS SECOND SIX-YEAR TERM expired on September 28, Judge Delbert E. Metzger continues to serve as one of two United States District Court judges in Hawaii. Judge Metzger, it will be recalled, recently provoked the wrath of Senator Joseph O'Mahoney and the Department of Justice when he fixed bail for seven alleged Communists, in a conspiracy indictment under the Smith act, at $7,500 instead of the $75,000 demanded by the Attorney General. Officials of the Department of Justice announced that Judge Metzger would not be recommended for reappointment—territorial judges hold term appointments—and then, acting on instructions from Mr. McGrath, sought to disqualify him from presiding at the trial of the Communists. The affidavit of disqualification called attention to Judge Metzger's refusal to accept the department's suggestions on bail, criticized his acquittal of certain witnesses who had been cited for contempt by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and rebuked him for having suggested that the adoption of suppressive measures might eventually convert the government into a police state. Judge Metzger, of course, refused to disqualify himself. But despite its threats the Administration has neither named a successor nor reappointed Judge Metzger. The fact that the Hawaii Bar Association, made up of some three hundred lawyers in the territory, recently gave Judge Metzger its overwhelming indorsement may account for this hesitancy. Now is the

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time, therefore, for the Administration to reconsider its ill-tempered and mischievous attempt to intimidate a federal judge. No apologies are needed; let the President simply reappoint Judge Metzger to another six-year term.

*

THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE FBI WILL BE assigned to investigate the tax and other government scandals appears to be causing alarm in some business circles. This is understandable, since any probe into the conduct of civil servants will inevitably involve investigation of the men who bribed them to gain some private end. So far the business men whose names have been brought into the hearings of the Ways and Means subcommittee have been mostly what the British call "spivs"—adventurers on the fringes of industry who live by their wits. But evidently there are fears that once Edgar Hoover's sleuths are turned loose they will come across trails leading to more respectable sections of our acquisitive society. In any event a well-known business news service reports opposition to the use of the FBI in this field on the ground that it might lead to a police state. Yet the infiltration of government by men prone to corruption is surely no less dangerous than its infiltration by politically doubtful elements. The corrupt not only tend to bring the government into disrepute but may be willing to sell secrets as well as special privileges and immunity to prosecution. Those who believe that the investigation of the political affiliations of federal appointees is a legitimate function of the FBI are in a weak position to protest against the use of this agency to ferret out improper ties between government officials and business men.

*

A NEW YEAR'S STEEL STRIKE SEEMS TO BE almost a certainty: the chief hope now in Washington is that the stoppage will not last more than a week. But even so brief a shutdown will mean the loss of two million tons of steel, twice the amount Britain is seeking to fulfil its defense and export programs, enough for hundreds of schools the construction of which is being postponed so that armament priorities can be met. Chief responsibility for the strike, if it comes, must rest on the employers, who seem to have made no effort to engage in serious collective bargaining. Instead, they have taken the position that before making any wage concessions they must be assured of permission to cover the entire extra cost by price increases. Very properly Price Stabilization Administrator Roger Putnam has refused any such guaranty, pointing out that steel profits are "way above" the standard promulgated by his predecessor, Eric Johnston, last April—a standard permitting price increases only if industry earnings fall below 85 per cent of the average of the three best years between 1946 and 1949. The steel corporations, Mr. Putnam added, are "bargaining with their own money," implying that they could afford to absorb any wage increase that could be approved under price and wage-stabilization regulations as they now stand.

Goodby to 1951

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WE SAY goodby to the old year without regret. It has been a bad year, marked by negatives: by unease, disagreement, non-cooperation, fear. Statesmen have taken satisfaction in scoring points against each other rather than finding grounds for getting together. The year ends with one solid reason for gratitude, and even that is negative: there has been no general war.

Viewed from these shores some happenings may look like positive accomplishments. On a number of issues, for example, the United States position has been adopted by the General Assembly of the U. N. Our delegation forced through the election of Greece to the Security Council in place of the candidate of the Soviet Union. The American-sponsored disarmament plan was triumphantly adopted, while Russia's was overwhelmingly rejected. At the last meeting before Christmas the Assembly's Political Committee turned down by a vote of thirty-nine to five the Soviet resolution condemning our Mutual Security Act as a threat against the institutions of Communist countries.

There were others. But examined coldly they added up to little more than points for our side in the cold war. America's insistence on the election of Greece, successful only after a prolonged and public exhibition of arm-twisting, seemed to many delegates a rather petty instance of political spite. At the beginning most of the nations that later switched their votes took it for granted that the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" assuring a seat to Eastern Europe was intended to give Russia one ally in the Council. Our victory only increased the feeling that we are against Russia even when it is, occasionally, in the right.

The American disarmament proposal, too, looked more like an attempt to outflank the Kremlin than like a serious move in the direction of peace. The similarities of the opposing plans were played down, as Lawrence H. Fuchs pointed out in *The Nation* of December 8 (Disarmament: Facts vs. Propaganda), and even in the secret meetings held to examine possibilities of agreement, both sides stood pat on their most extreme and unpalatable demands: Russia for the immediate abolition of atomic weapons; the United States for the dated "majority" plan for atomic inspection and control. Still, the fact that the Western proposal for the first time included in one package conventional and atomic weapons and

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that Russia seems likely to accept membership in the commission to be set up after the Christmas recess gives a small margin of hope. Talks can continue, at least.

One of the most interesting episodes in the Assembly was Russia's charge that the United States is plotting subversive activities within the Soviet sphere, to be financed by $100,000,000 provided for in the new Mutual Security Act. Brushed off briskly as a piece of Soviet impertinence, the resolution actually penetrated close to the heart of American defense policy. A debate on the issues involved would have raised the question: What are our ultimate purposes in the struggle with Russia? That Moscow's interests are advanced wherever possible by subversion or revolution or any other useful method, through special agents and local Communist parties, can be taken as proved. What is still an unknown factor of staggering magnitude is whether Washington, dominating Western defense operations, is committed to the use of similar methods. Representative Mike Mansfield, speaking for the United States in the Political Committee, denied we had any such idea, taking the obvious line that the shoe belonged on Russia's foot, not ours. But some reporters noted that the real issue had been dodged, for everyone knows the United States is at least trying to generate a spirit of revolt among Russia's satellites and in the Soviet Union as well.

While Mr. Mansfield interpreted the language of the Security Act to refer "only to those people who have managed to flee to this side of the Iron Curtain," the act certainly does not say that. It appropriates $100,000,000 to enable anti-Communists "residing in" or refugees from the Soviet areas to form armed units of the North Atlantic defense forces. The "or for other purposes" controversial clause was added as an amendment introduced by Representative Charles J. Kersten, who explained that its object was to provide "a method whereby the United States can render aid for underground liberation movements in the Communist countries." Later, in attacking the proposed U. N. draft code of "offenses against the peace and security of mankind," Mr. Kersten wrote Warren R. Austin, chief American delegate to the U. N., that the code as drawn up "might prevent groups in this country, as well as our government, from assisting in the liberation of the peoples of Eastern European countries and other countries enslaved by the Communist tyranny."

"Containment" is one thing; "liberation" another. For a year or more there have been increasing indications of a shift in American policy toward the idea of freeing the peoples under Soviet rule. In a recent article in the New York *Times*, James Reston stated plainly that "the policy of the United States government is not only to contain the Russians where they are, but to push them back where they came from." Language like this horrifies our European allies, who have accepted the necessity of large-scale defense but are by no means enlisted in a crusade against communism or war of counter-revolution. Much as they may object to Communist infiltration or agitation in their own countries, they have no reckless desire to repay it in kind. On the contrary they hope for an easing of tension, an increase in trade, and a consequent improvement of their economic life—which would do more than $100,000,000 worth of cloak-and-dagger to minimize the Communist threat. The fear lest American anti-Communist zeal may force a war that is unlikely on any other grounds is a pervasive one, and Russia's challenge, however impudent, may well have increased it. In any case the issue has now been brought into the open, and it will be surprising if it is not followed up in private by our allies, who want desperately to believe that the Atlantic alliance can be shorn of any appearance of aggressive purpose.

The defense program itself has reached a point where this is particularly necessary. With eighteen divisions in readiness on European soil and the pressure of rearmament increasing monthly, the Western countries are facing a tough choice. They can slow up the tempo enough to ease the economic strain, thus reducing internal friction and instability—and this, indeed, is in the cards. But by adopting this course they increase the need of German man-power and productive capacity and increase simultaneously the bargaining power of the West German government. Already Bonn's price for cooperation is rising and so are the strength and arrogance of the nationalist-military reaction.

As long as German rearmament hangs on the creation of a European army—itself still a concept rather than a blueprint—some latitude for maneuver exists. The fear and distaste with which Western Europeans approach the prospect of becoming brothers-in-arms of their late enemy offer at least a faint chance that a third choice may be sought by Europe's more realistic leaders. The alternative to reviving German military power is reviving efforts to make a deal on Germany with the Russians. And that, of course, implies a serious attempt—not through public speeches or resolutions in the U. N.—to resolve specific points of difference. The much-deplored lack of unity among the Atlantic powers over German rearmament and the defense program as a whole may in fact turn out to be the most hopeful development of 1951. It represents not a mood of defeat but one of independence; on some of the great issues our allies have learned to talk back, to state policies of their own. "Bevanism" under other names is spreading. The recoil from war and the demand for positive efforts toward peace can be sensed under the disagreements registered at the U. N. Taken together with the prospect of an armistice in Korea and Russia's apparent reluctance to force differences to the point of showdown, this mood may be the best omen for 1952.

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Frank ("Midas") McKinney

BY IRVING LEIBOWITZ

Indianapolis, December

THE Augean stables, containing 3,000 oxen, had not been cleaned for thirty years. Hercules, it will be recalled, cleaned them in a day by turning in the rivers Alpheus and Peneus. The Democrats have not been in power thirty years, but Mr. Truman has decided that influence peddlers and corrupt officials shall be driven from government and party positions whether they number thirty or thirty thousand. He has chosen Frank E. McKinney, an Indianapolis banker, for the task, on the assumption, apparently, that the Democratic machine politicians of Indianapolis are a different breed from those of St. Louis, the home of William Boyle. But just what manner of man is this Hercules from Indiana?

Frank E. McKinney may clean up and patch the scandal-scarred Democratic Party, but he will not be of much help to the Democrats in carrying Indiana; in fact, he will probably find it a tougher job to increase the Democratic vote in his home town than anywhere else. Long before he was chosen by Mr. Truman, McKinney was known in Indianapolis as a baseball magnate and business man with political connections galore. Less than twenty-four hours after he had succeeded the much-investigated William Boyle as Democratic National Chairman, the skeletons in his political past began to be paraded. The first of them had to do, of course, with the casual way in which McKinney and his political sponsor, Frank McHale, Indiana's Democratic National Committeeman, had picked up a small fortune through their association with Frank Cohen, the New York promoter whose Empire Ordnance Company was one of the most frequently investigated and thoroughly criticized munitions combines of World War II. The fact that Empire had been exposed by the Truman committee apparently failed to embarrass either McKinney or President Truman.

Frank McKinney's banking, business, and political connections in Indiana cannot be understood without inquiring into his Republican as well as his Democratic connections. McKinney is known to be the political protégé of Frank McHale. Not known to most rank-and-file Democrats in Indiana is the fact that McHale is attorney for the Indianapolis *Star*, long regarded as a Republican house organ. Recently, the *Star* assailed as a "dictator" Indiana's popular Democratic Governor, Henry F. Schricker, the only man in the state's history to be twice elected to the governorship; Schricker, incidentally, detests the political maneuvers of McHale.

McKinney and McHale started their climb to political power and private wealth during the early days of the New Deal, when Paul McNutt was Governor of Indiana. McNutt personally guided their careers until he left Indiana to become Federal Security Administrator, Governor of the Philippines and then ambassador to the new republic, and, currently, a big-time lawyer-lobbyist whose clients have included the South Korean Republic. Through McNutt solid top-level connections in the Democratic Party were established by McKinney and McHale. In the Republican Party, McKinney's connections are on a much lower level but are by no means negligible. Many Indiana Democrats are disturbed by his elevation to the national chairmanship of the party less because he is known as a past master in the art of acquiring and exerting political influence than because of his unusual affinity for Republican politicians.

A good many Democrats and Republicans in Indiana insist not only that McKinney was once a Republican but that he started his political career in 1925 by working, as a Republican, for the election of the Ku Klux Klan candidate for Mayor of Indianapolis. Former Mayor John Duvall, who once paraded with the Klan drum corps to accept the Klan's indorsement, has recalled: "The McKinneys were all good Republicans at that time. Frank's father [Roscoe] collected $1,000 for my campaign, and Frank campaigned in my behalf. I later helped promote Frank's father to Battalion Fire Chief and sent him to fire school in New York." Vigorously denying any connection with ex-Mayor Duvall, McKinney insists that his father did not collect or contribute money to Duvall's campaign. "How could I as an Irish Catholic support a Klan candidate?" he asks. "All this is a damn lie. Why, my father was too poor and I was too young."

But McKinney does not deny dealings with local Republican big shots. For many years James Bradford, former county chairman, was able to purchase liquor for the now defunct Mid-State Liquor Corporation through loans extended by McKinney's bank. McKinney and Bradford say these were "regular" commercial loans secured by warehouse receipts. But however regular the loans may have been—and there is no reason to question McKinney's statement about them—they are regarded in Indianapolis as further evidence of his close relations with Republican politicians. Moreover, at the time that McKinney bought control of the bustling

IRVING LEIBOWITZ is on the staff of the Indianapolis Times.

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Frank McKinney

Fidelity Trust Company in 1935, with the aid of a $100,000 loan, he was employed as assistant cashier by the Republican-controlled People's State Bank. In fact, McKinney's Republican connections range from friendships and business deals with ward chairmen to a close working alliance with the present Mayor of Indianapolis, Alex Clark. Recently the Indianapolis *Times*, quoting "two reliable sources," said in a front-page story that McKinney had contributed $1,000 to the local G. O. P. war chest before taking his present post. McKinney has denied this.

In the highly partisan politics of Indiana, Democrats are supposed to be Democrats and Republicans, Republicans. McKinney and McHale have had such a strangle-hold on the Democratic Party that their bipartisan business and political activities have until recently been overlooked. But a year ago McKinney became embroiled in a torrid political feud with the Democratic Mayor of Indianapolis, the late Al Feeney, and Mayor Feeney publicly accused McKinney of trying to handpick the Democratic ticket in Marion County and attacked him in the newspapers as a "ruthless, power-mad dictator." When a long list of Democratic city administrations throughout the state were toppled from power in the recent mayoralty elections and 73 of the 103 cities in Indiana, including such normally Democratic industrial cities as Evansville, South Bend, and Indianapolis, went Republican, Indiana Democrats in all walks of life began to talk of ousting the party leadership.

A number of prominent labor leaders, regular party Democrats, and state officials are now working to reorganize the party in time for the 1952 elections. With an eye on the recent mayoralty results, these leaders are extremely suspicious of the McKinney-McHale alliance. Organized labor, with which rests the fate of the Democrats in Indiana next year, has threatened to desert the party unless labor gets a "fair deal" and promises are kept. Labor leaders particularly dislike McHale, who has been quoted as saying: "Labor can go to hell. Where can labor go but the Democratic Party?" On another occasion he said: "The C. I. O.-P. A. C. is a millstone around the neck of the Democratic Party." Neal Edwards, a key figure in the C. I. O., and Carl Mullen of the A. F. of L., who together represent more than 500,000 trade-union members in Indiana, will not be satisfied with halfway measures. Publicly warning Democratic politicians, Edwards said recently: "The Democrats must have a sweeping house-cleaning here in Indiana. There are too many Dixiecrats and reactionaries who have high positions in the party. McHale and company have got to go." Mullen too has criticized the methods of McHale and McKinney: "Unless the Democratic Party is reorganized in Indiana from top to bottom, it won't be able to elect a dog-catcher next year." Curiously enough, the steps to reorganize the Democratic Party in Indiana really began when McKinney left for Washington and New York.

THE key factor in the extraordinary career of the forty-seven-year-old McKinney seems to have been his ability to make money. Last year Edwin C. Heinke, then assistant managing editor of the Indianapolis *Times* and now chief of *Time-Life's* Chicago bureau, wrote that everything McKinney touched turned to gold. The Indiana politician-banker has since been known as Midas McKinney. A banker who never planned or even hoped, so he says, to amass great wealth, he now finds himself the possessor of a large fortune. A politician who found politics "distasteful," he rose from county treasurer to become one of the most powerful figures in the state. A baseball fan who managed a semi-pro team in his youth for the sheer love of the sport, he became boss of the Pittsburgh Pirates. One example of his Midas touch is the way he made between $68,000 and $69,000 on a $1,000 investment in the Empire Tractor Company. Another was his experience as County Treasurer. McKinney was treasurer of Marion County (Indianapolis) from 1936 to 1940. Up to 1936 the treasurer retained 3 per cent of collections on real-property and personal-property delinquencies. That year the legislature raised the fee to 6 per cent plus a 50-cent fee for each delinquency retired. "There is no record of the amount of fees McKinney collected," reports the Associated Press, "but best estimates are between $30,000 and $40,000 a year—possibly more." The fee system was abolished in 1941.

As McKinney has accumulated wealth, he has accumulated political influence; there can be no doubt that he has long been a power in the Democratic Party despite his relations with local Republican leaders. This was demonstrated when he personally escorted William Steckler to the White House last year and persuaded President Truman to appoint him to the federal District Court for the southern Indiana district. A subsequent event illustrates how McKinney's interest in politics has seldom gone unrewarded. The first big bankruptcy plum that Judge Steckler had at his disposal—the multi-million-dollar resort hotel at French Lick Springs in southern Indiana—went to McKinney's bank, with Frank McHale named attorney in the transaction.

State Democratic Chairman Ira Haymaker and his press agent, Robert Bloem, vigorously defend this ex-

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change of courtesies as "practical politics," and so it was. "Would you have the Judge be an ingrate," they ask, "and give it [the bankruptcy appointment] to a Republican bank just to satisfy the newspapers?" Obviously not; but the fact that Mr. McKinney is so clearly not an "ingrate" in this sense makes one wonder how effective he will be in helping cleanse the Administration and the Democratic Party of "influence peddlers."

Whatever President Truman may think, Indiana Democrats are by no means unanimous in believing that McKinney will put through a clean-up campaign in the Democratic Party or that he will be of much help to them in carrying Indiana in 1952. They point to the fact, for example, that McKinney's first official act was to appoint Municipal Court Judge Joseph Howard of Indianapolis as one of his top assistants. Judge Howard was indicted for vote frauds in Marion County on September 16, 1938, while serving as deputy prosecutor. Although the indictment was later dismissed, the appointment of Howard did little to convince Indiana Democrats that McKinney intends to clean up the mess he inherited from William Boyle. Both Howard and McKinney, moreover, were accused of actively supporting the Republican candidate for Mayor of Indianapolis, Alex Clark, in the recent election. Howard, in fact, resigned as Democratic ward chairman to work for the Republican candidate. After accepting the Democratic national chairmanship, McKinney made a feeble effort at a preelection rally to swing his support back to the Democratic nominee, Phillip Bayt. Political observers marveled that McKinney had the audacity to send men to the rally with signs advising Democrats: "It's not too late to be with Bayt."

Most Hoosier Democrats, who regard bipartisan deals as a worse crime than subversive activity, think President Truman did not help the party in Indiana when he selected McKinney as National Chairman.

THE ARAB-REFUGEE PROBLEM

A Plan for Its Solution

[On December 15, 1951, a group of nineteen religious, labor, education, and liberal leaders submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations a memorandum offering a constructive plan for the solution of the Arab-refugee problem. This plan calls for permanent resettlement of the Arab-refugee population in the Arab states, where there is ample land and opportunity if natural resources are developed, and for help in developing those natural resources. Under the auspices of the United Nations it would be implemented through the establishment of a $300,000,000 resettlement fund and a resources-development enterprise to which the international community might make an initial contribution of $500,000,000, plus, of course, planning and technical assistance.

In the view of the signatories, the plan serves three purposes: it will rescue and rehabilitate the hundreds of thousands of Arabs in the refugee camps, reclaim a once rich and productive region now in decay under feudal regimes, and make allies of the peoples of the Middle East by showing them democracy at work for their benefit. The first section of the memorandum, containing the concrete proposals, appears below.]

THE Arab refugee exists. His plight is tragic. His problem is the responsibility of the international community. But it is not a responsibility which can be discharged either by protracted palliative measures or by pressure on Israel to open its doors to his return.

The Arab of formerly mandated Palestine is truly a displaced person. Whether or not he is classified as a refugee, he is without roots, without employment, and dependent for his daily existence upon international relief funds.

Three years of palliative measures have not alleviated his misery. "The Arab refugee population is virtually destitute. The cost of maintaining them up to date has been $66,000,000. But they are not much better off today than they were in 1948. With the exception of Jordan, no government has proclaimed their right to stay." This is the report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency to the 1951 session of the General Assembly.

The Arab-refugee problem can be resolved. To do so it is necessary first to take it out of the vacuum to which it has been relegated, to look at it in the full context of its cause and effect, political and economic, its relationship to the peace and well-being of the area and, therefore, to the security of the world at large. Viewed thus, solutions are possible which can become permanent and redound to the everlasting benefit of the refugees themselves and of the entire Middle East.

Proposals

I

The Arab states occupy an area of some 1,200,000 square miles. Although there are large desert tracts, it is potentially one of the richest areas in the world. Much of the land is unoccupied, a large part underdeveloped. A number of Arab states urgently require additional pop-

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ulation, through immigration, to develop the great natural wealth with which nature has endowed them.

We therefore propose that:

1. In recognition of their responsibility to share in solving the Arab-refugee problem, the Arab states, principally Iraq, Syria, Jordan, should assign for the purposes of Arab refugee resettlement tracts of land in their territories, now unpopulated or underpopulated, which are capable of being developed to support a substantial population.

2. A definite assignment of specific land should be made to each Arab refugee family to be settled.

3. An orderly transfer of Arab refugees to the areas designated should be undertaken.

4. The transfer of Arab refugees should be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations.

5. The provision for housing and other requirements to establish the foundation for ultimate self-maintenance should be made by the U. N. resettlement agency.

6. As part of the undertaking, also under the auspices of the United Nations, a program for the retraining of the settlers, as necessary, should be undertaken.

7. The transfer and settlement of Palestine Arab refugees should be financed by an international fund created for this purpose in the sum of $300,000,000.

II

Israel, occupying an area of 8,100 square miles, which in three years has been compelled to absorb 700,000 Jewish refugees—almost equivalent in number to the Arab refugee population—half of them in flight from Moslem countries of the Middle East and North Africa, cannot reabsorb the Arabs who fled its borders. But it can, and indeed has offered to, contribute to a fund for Arab resettlement.

We therefore propose that:

Upon the establishment of the Resettlement Fund and agreement as to its scope, Israel shall be requested to make a fair contribution to that fund by way of compensation for abandoned Arab land in Israel.

In arriving at the compensation total, account should be taken of Jewish property losses during the Palestine war and the property of Jewish refugees from Arab states seized or frozen by those states.

III

All experts are agreed that the reintegration of the Arab refugee population in the Arab countries can be accomplished only if simultaneously there is an improvement of living standards and employment possibilities for the whole area.

We therefore propose that:

1. A five-year program should be undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations to develop the natural resources of the area as a whole. Specifically, that a series of projects similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority should be initiated to harness the water and power resources (a) of the Jordan River serving Israel and Jordan; (b) of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers serving Syria and Iraq; and (c) of the Litani River in Lebanon.

2. A Resources Development Commission should be established to plan and carry out this program.

3. An international fund of $500,000,000, as an initiating fund, should be established to begin the development of the natural resources of Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Israel, and such other areas as may be designated by the Resources Development Commission.

4. Liaison should be established between the U. N. Commission for the Resettlement of the Arab Refugees and the Resources Development Commission, with a view to the coordination of plans and programs.

IV

To carry out undertakings of the scope envisaged, a prerequisite is stability. Stability requires a permanent peace settlement between the Arab States and Israel.

We therefore propose that:

The United Nations should call upon the Arab states and Israel to negotiate and conclude a peace settlement either directly or under the auspices of the U. N.

THE plans proposed are in accord both with reality and with the provisions of the Charter. They are also based on practical precedents.

Since 1919 the transfer of populations has been accomplished as a means of resolving a number of thorny problems. One of the most successful undertakings of this kind was the transfer in 1923, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of 1,250,000 Greeks from Turkey in exchange for about 355,000 Turks. The League of Nations launched a loan to finance the provision of land, homes, and work for these refugees.

The transfer of the Arab population of Palestine to Arab land is not a new idea. The exchange of the Arab population of Palestine with the Jewish populations of the Arab countries was proposed in 1937 by responsible British statesmen and favored by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as an effective way of resolving the Palestine problem.

In practical effect, such an exchange has been taking place. During the Palestine war in 1947-48, Palestine Arabs fled from their homes at the behest of their leaders and are now in the Arab states. The Jewish populations are fleeing from persecution in the Arab states and finding refuge in Israel.

The resettlement of the Arab refugees is a formidable undertaking. But it is much simpler to resettle them in Arab lands where identity of language, tradition, and culture exists than to return them as an alien minority

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to Israel, where new homes and livelihood would have to be provided in any event.

The implementation of the program envisaged, by removing so large a cause of friction, should, moreover, stimulate and render more effective the concurrent efforts of the United Nations to bring about the negotiation of a peace settlement between the Arab states and Israel.

Can the Arab States Absorb the Arab Refugees? That this is feasible is the view of many experts.

The U. N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, in its 1951 report, underscores that the region, despite its present backwardness, has enormous potential possibilities. "It not only contains nearly one-half of the world proved oil resources, the exploitation of which has started only recently, but it has large areas of cultivable land, part of which were in previous centuries the homelands of large and prosperous populations, while other parts have never been seriously developed at all."

Moreover, the experts believe that if the capital investments were made for the development of the natural resources of these areas, the undertakings, in time, would produce the revenues to pay for the outlay.

By the introduction of irrigation, modern farming techniques, and the harnessing of water resources, four Arab states—Iraq, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon—could support many millions of people, in addition to their present populations, on a highly improved standard of living.

For two of these states, Iraq and Syria, an increased working population is imperative if they are to develop their own resources.

Syria and Iraq, occupying a land area of 182,000 square miles, and with a population of less than 8,000,000, in ancient times supported a population of many millions more, and were granaries of the Roman Empire.

President Truman's International Development Advisory Board, headed by Nelson Rockefeller, holds that, under proper development, Iraq alone could absorb an Arab refugee population of 750,000.

Responsibility for Arab Plight. In seeking a solution for the Arab-refugee problem, the international community must remember the circumstances under which that problem arose. The war of the Arab states against the U. N. resolution of November 29, 1947, is responsible for the present situation.

The records of the U. N. show that the Arab states prevented an independent Arab state, provided for in the partition plan, from coming into being in Palestine —a state which might in time have become capable of satisfying the needs of its population. And Arab leaders summoned the Arabs of Palestine to a mass evacuation, as the documented facts reveal.

Why Israel Cannot Absorb Arab Refugees. That Israel did not expel the Arabs is confirmed by countless Arab sources. When the Arab attacks on Palestine began, the Haganah, and subsequently the Provisional Government of Israel, made every attempt to prevent the Arab exodus and pleaded with the populace to stay. These pleas were not heeded.

Israel's refusal now to permit the return of the Arab refugees stems from the following facts:

1. Such abandoned Arab villages and dwellings as are fit for human habitation are now occupied by Jewish immigrants.

2. Israel still feels it is threatened by its neighbors. No peace settlement has yet been concluded. On the contrary, Arab demands for a second round against Israel continue to be heard, and no Arab government has offered to abstain from working for Israel's downfall.

3. The presence of a large Arab minority, which would be more responsive to the sentiments of the surrounding Arab states than to that of Israel, would render Israel insecure.

4. Israel, in the three years of its existence, has absorbed a Jewish refugee population about equivalent in numbers to the Arab refugee population. Half of the 669,518 Jewish immigrants which the state has received since 1948 are Jews in flight from persecution and oppression in the Moslem lands of the Middle East and North Africa. In the eight-month period of January 1, 1951, to September 1, 1951, they accounted for 71.5 per cent of the immigration to Israel.

For Israel to absorb the Arab refugees would be to dislocate the economy of a state which in the space of three years has been compelled to fight a war of defense, establish itself under democratic constitutional forms, and open its doors to almost 700,000 Jewish refugees. Indeed, its very existence would be threatened.

Problems Responsible for Creation of Israel Still Exist. Further, the United Nations should review the circumstances under which it authorized the creation of Israel.

The Jewish state was sanctioned by the U. N. in 1947 as a means of providing refuge, home, and rehabilitation for the pitiful survivors of Hitler's extermination program, who, two years after the war's end, had found neither home nor safety.

When World War II ended, it was found that six million Jews had been massacred in Europe. Of some 1,111,000 survivors, one-third found their way to displaced-persons camps. The remainder came out of hiding, in countries which had served as charnel houses, to the frightful memories of mothers, fathers, sons, and daughters put to death in gas chambers, burned to death, starved to death, done to death in labor gangs.

Few countries of the world opened their doors in the period before the outbreak of hostilities in Europe to admit those Jews who might have been saved. And even

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at the close of the war no countries offered to receive the tragic remnants. Not until Israel was established did the work of rescue and rehabilitation begin.

Since 1947 the need for migration of Jews has grown more, not less.

One Million Jews Seek Safety in Israel. During the past six years, Europe has seen a revival of anti-Semitism which has stimulated the fears of the remaining Jews and produced an enormous push toward Israel. To these have been added hundreds of thousands of residents of Jewish communities thousands of years old—communities in Moslem countries throughout North Africa and the Middle East—who today have become the victims of physical attack, economic boycott, and financial spoliation in a manner reminiscent of Hitlerism.

In the North African countries many of the communities had known terror of Nazi occupation or Vichyite discrimination. Overwhelmed with the memories of so recent an oppression, these latest victims of Moslem oppression are seeking escape. The only door open to them is that of Israel.

Today the new state is confronted with the problem of receiving between 700,000 and 1,000,000 Jews of Europe, North Africa, and the Arab countries, and offering them homes and rehabilitation.

Israel Shoulders an International Responsibility. Should Israel fail, the responsibility for these Jews would, of necessity, devolve upon the international community. In offering them asylum, Israel is thus relieving the world of a burden and a duty it otherwise would be compelled to assume.

To continue this work, Israel requires, first and foremost, peace. Second, it requires space to receive and settle the new victims of oppression. The 8,100 square miles Israel occupies cannot be expanded, but neither can it be asked to accept the return of hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees who by their own choice fled its area. Third, it requires help in developing its natural resources and those shared jointly with Jordan.

In three years Israel has spent one-fifth to one-quarter of its national income on immigration and agricultural settlements for the Jewish refugees. On these two undertakings alone, as of August, 1951, this amounted to I£125,000,000, or approximately $370,000,000. A review of the expenditures of only six voluntary agencies cooperating with Israel shows they spent $419,000,000. Together, conservatively estimated, Israel and these six voluntary agencies have already spent $789,000,000 for the transport, training, settlement, and rehabilitation of the Jewish refugee population. The actual total is probably well over one billion dollars.

On some 41,000 Arab refugees in Israel, the government of the Jewish state has spent $11,000,000, one million dollars more than all the Arab states together have spent on the entire Arab refugee population.

Both the Arab and Jewish refugee problems must be solved. Neither can be solved at the expense of the other.

"WE PEOPLES who are still free face two main threats," says the President's International Development Advisory Board. "One is military aggression and subversion. The other is hunger, poverty, disease, and illiteracy." The proposals suggested are designed to meet this second major threat.

Loyalty to democratic principles cannot be commanded in a vacuum. It can be won from peoples only after experience of democratic practice.

When the yoke of feudalism has been lifted from the backs of the peoples of the Middle East, they may well become the loyal allies of the democratic world against military aggression and subversion. *But* they cannot become a bastion for democracy until they have been reclaimed from feudalism. Left in the status quo, they present a focal point of danger.

The United Nations faces a great challenge. It is pledged "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." By being greatly daring in this critical area, it can greatly advance major objectives of peace, security, and larger freedom.

Respectfully submitted,

DEWEY ANDERSON, Executive Director, Public Affairs Institute; HENRY A. ATKINSON, General Secretary, Church Peace Union; DONALD B. CLOWARD, Executive Secretary, Council on Christian Social Progress of the American Baptist Convention; FREDERICK MAY ELIOT, President, American Unitarian Association; CHARLES KENDALL GILBERT, Retired Episcopal Bishop of New York; EARL G. HARRISON; IVAN LEE HOLT, Methodist Bishop of Missouri; FREDA KIRCHWEY, President, The Nation Associates; KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, President, American Baptist Convention; ARCHIBALD MAC LEISH, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, Harvard University; DANIEL L. MARSH, Chancellor, Boston University; NORMAN B. NASH, Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts; REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary; JAMES G. PATTON, President, Farmers International and Cooperative Union; PAUL PORTER; JACOB S. POTOFSKY, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; JAMES T. SHOTWELL, President Emeritus, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; RUSSELL H. STAFFORD, President, Hartford Seminary Foundation; SUMNER WELLES.

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Uncle Sam's Bitter Nephews

BY SAM A. JAFFE

UNCLE SAM dealt himself a bad blow last year when he sent the greater part of the Marine Corps Reserve to fight and die in Korea for a cause they knew little or nothing about. At first they may have thought it a thrilling adventure, but as battle-scarred veterans they are bitter and resentful.

The summons to active duty on July 24 of last year struck the reservists like a bolt from the blue. Some groups—like the San Francisco Twelfth Amphibian Tractor Battalion—were given only three days to square their civilian affairs. Until then the duties of the organized reserve had been considered an easy way to make extra money. They took but two hours a week, plus a two-week training period in summer, and the latter could often be dodged if a plausible alibi was presented. The idea was to have a supply of men ready to serve their country in time of need, but the training was insufficient and the equipment obsolete. The reservists who gathered at sun-baked Camp Pendleton, the overseas shipping center for the Marine Corps in Southern California, believed this would be their home for the next few months while they received intensive combat training with modern weapons. The military apparently had other plans.

During their three weeks' stay at the camp, the reservists received clothing, insurance, and allotment forms to fill out, but no training. Most men were classified as riflemen regardless of their civilian experience. An order from Washington stated that any reservist who had attended thirty-six weekly drill meetings and two summer camps was, in effect, ready for war.

The First Marine Division arrived at Kobe on August 23 and was stationed at swanky army camps complete with swimming pools, beer halls, soda fountains, and gyms. But final preparations were being rushed for the Inchon landing; so it stayed in Japan only two weeks. The men received conditioning hikes and a few final instructions. As the 21,000 marines boarded some sixty vessels in Kobe harbor on September 6, a common sight on the docks was to see a group of marines working over a heavy machine-gun and asking, "How the hell do you put this thing back together? None of us has even seen one of these guns before."

The landing itself was badly disorganized. Battalions landed on the wrong beaches. Companies became separated from one another. Operations were way behind schedule. But not until the division reached Seoul's industrial suburb, Yongdong-Po, did it see bitter fighting. From there into the city the marines fought from door to door.

The men had been led to believe that all that had to be done was to drive the North Koreans behind the Thirty-eighth Parallel. They had also been told that the division was to be used only to establish the beachhead; the army would drive inland. But it was not until the marines moved northward that the army arrived in force. News that they were to debark for another combat operation made the troops furious. A regimental commander told me, "I'm just about at the breaking point. I've had enough of this war and so have my men. What can I tell them when they ask me what the fighting is all about?"

The fighting in the rugged, mountainous north went on for seven weeks. The Chinese, who General MacArthur had said would not enter Korea, attacked in great force, smashing at the lines day and night. The weather was, if possible, a fiercer enemy than the Chinese. The earth had frozen so solid that you couldn't dig a foxhole. Intrenching tools broke in the hard ground. Many men went for days without eating because their canned "C" rations were frozen; a bayonet could not chip the contents. Frostbite was practically universal. The fur parkas, the shoe pacs, and other items of winter clothing provided were as useless as a French bathing suit, being designed as protection against a dry cold, and this cold was wet. The heavy mountain-type sleeping bags were dangerous to use because the zipper which extended up to a man's neck made it so hard to get out of them—many marines were found dead in their bags after a Chinese raid. At the height of a battle, rifle and machine-gun bolts were found frozen solid. Trucks and jeeps became useless when their motors froze.

No man who took part in the withdrawal from the Changjin Reservoir will ever forget it. The Reds kept hitting the convoys with everything they had. A section of the road would be reported clear. The convoy would proceed slowly. Suddenly, machine-gun, rifle, and mortar fire would cut the convoy in two, trapping half the vehicles and personnel. After a pitched battle, the trucks and troops would move on again, only to meet Chinese fire a few miles farther along.

When the First Marine Division, worn to a thread, evacuated Hungnam on December 16, its members were bitter, disgusted, and broken. Aboard ship it was an-

SAM A. JAFFE is a New York newspaperman who spent eight months in Korea as a combat correspondent with the First Marine Division.

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nounced that the division would not go to Japan for a long-needed rest but would land at Pusan the following day. Maintaining that "we're still civilians," the reservists released a flood of torrid letters to their Congressmen and Senators, the Marine Corps, the Department of Defense, and the President, though the military code strictly forbade this. Why had they been told by their officers that the security of the United States rested on them when President Truman had spoken of Korea as "a police action"? Why should they bear the brunt of this war when the majority of the Armed Forces Reserve and National Guard were still at home? The major topic of conversation was why the Marine Corps Reserve was the first and only military reserve to be recalled to duty as a whole.

After the dedication of the United Nations Cemetery at Inchon, a regimental commander suggested that the United Nations flag over the dead should be replaced by the Stars and Stripes. "These dead are not of the United Nations," he said, "they're Americans, and their own colors should fly above them." Groups of marines would silently steal into the cemetery and replace the U. N. flag with ours.

What disturbed the leathernecks most was that they had to wage a war against Chinese soldiers fighting with American weapons. The North Koreans were equipped with Russian weapons and ammunition, but the Chinese depended chiefly on the Thompson submachine-gun and the M-1 rifle and had little Russian equipment. In the American army one submachine gun is supposed to be issued to a platoon, but almost every Chinese soldier had one. The Chinese also used American field guns and mortars.

"I'll Take a Cold War to a Hot Truce Any Time, Joe."

All this was bad enough, but the men were further irked to find that many Koreans wanted no part of them. These were the Communists and others who were opposed to Syngman Rhee and his gang. Some even said the death and destruction we had brought them could all have been avoided if we had helped them in the past.

When the division was sent up to the central front after three weeks' rest, members were still writing letters to Washington. Many of the older men demanded to be released from active duty, saying that on their military pay they could not support a wife and children; others complained that their families had not been receiving allotments which they had approved five months before. As they left for the front, they seemed to be starting the war all over again. They were now back in the south with its blanketing, powder-fine dust, its pock-marked, kidney-shaking roads, its putrid rice paddies. Morale dropped fast. Officers expressed contempt for the U. N. and the Truman Administration.

Today the majority of the reservists who took part in the historic Inchon invasion are home. But many are still in uniform and hence have said little about Korea. They have received no mustering-out pay; they enjoy no G. I. Bill of Rights; they have no job protection. All they have is a few medals to remind them of the nightmare they went through and the losses they suffered.

At long last an Armed Forces Committee is now trying to learn why the reserves were called to duty. On October 25 the committee released a report containing a scathing indictment of commanding officers at Camp Pendleton. "Many trainees are housed in tents without lights. . . . Service personnel often is used to take care of riding stables maintained as a 'recreational facility'. . . . Fancy golf courses are provided for officers." At Camp Lejeune the investigators discovered a directive stating, "In the future it will be looked upon with disfavor if any member of this command communicates with a member of Congress." They found a group of reservists at Camp Pendleton who had not been paid since they were recalled to active duty. These men were receiving disability allowances which they would have to give up before they could receive active-duty pay. While the investigation is being conducted, the Marine Corps is again trying to activate its reserves, but it has a tough problem on its hands. Recently a high Marine officer told a group of World War II veterans that the military had destroyed its vital reserve program for the future when it called the Marine Corps Reserve to duty.

What can Uncle Sam do to console his bitter nephews? The veterans of Korea ask only that the government do its utmost to make this the last war in a generation already bloody from two conflicts.

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Sanity Rewarded

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, December 20

ON DECEMBER 13 a laconic announcement in *Le Monde* said that the shareholders of the paper had decided by a vote of 190 to 65 to retain Hubert Beuve-Méry as editor. For the past three years Beuve-Méry has been the most controversial figure in French journalism, arousing greater devotion and hatred than almost any other man. Not only was *Le Monde*—the successor of the pre-war *Temps*, a paper completely in the service of the French Foreign Office—easily the best Paris newspaper and the only one with a world reputation, but it had begun to reflect, especially since 1949, a courageous non-conformist policy often described as neutralist. This was largely the expression of Beuve-Méry's own viewpoint; neutralism is actually a misnomer. If *Le Monde* in its criticism of the Atlantic Pact in 1949 could be called neutralist, since then it has become more representative of "resistance" to the excesses of French and European "satellization," voicing a widespread national sentiment in favor of greater political and cultural independence. Its views have been sharply at variance with an official policy based largely on dollar requirements.

Since the Korean war, when Beuve-Méry realized the immense dangers of MacArthurism and certain other American trends, *Le Monde* has been the target of particularly violent attacks by the French government, rival newspapers, and Washington. The campaign increased in intensity throughout the second half of 1950 and the first half of 1951, until last summer Beuve-Méry, under a variety of combined pressures, resigned. A new editor was appointed but never took the editorial chair because at the last moment the entire editorial staff threatened to strike. Faced with this possibility, the shareholders reinstated Beuve-Méry until the middle of December, and arrangements were made to give the staff a number of shares with voting rights.

All these months the battle around Beuve-Méry has continued under the surface. But it was evident a couple of months ago that his supporters were winning, both for political and financial reasons. Attempts were made to torpedo *Le Monde* by setting up rival papers like *Paris-Presse*, but *Le Monde's* circulation was fully maintained, despite a sharp rise in price, and the paper's prestige has been unaffected. This was realized in certain government quarters, not least by the Minister of Information, Robert Buron, who was also impressed by the almost unanimous loyalty of the staff of *Le Monde* to its editor.

At the general meeting of the paper's shareholders early in December, René Courtin, representing old-fashioned French capitalist interests and hostile currents in the Quai d'Orsay, as well as American opinion, and three other important shareholders who had conducted the campaign to oust Beuve-Méry, were hopelessly outvoted by the editorial staff and a number of other shareholders, of whom two had previously been in favor of a new editor.

The large majority obtained by Beuve-Méry was due in part to the changing world situation. Thoughts that a year ago would have been considered dangerously unorthodox are now becoming almost commonplace; even an ultra-orthodox paper like *Paris-Presse* has suddenly begun to argue against the war in Indo-China, which only *Le Monde* among "respectable" papers had dared previously to do. The impression is that the French government, or some members of it, today consider it useful from an international standpoint to have an authoritative French paper voice opinions which often cannot be conveniently voiced officially.

Although Beuve-Méry is one of the most courageous and uncompromising journalists of our time, it seems, nevertheless, as if *Le Monde* were making slight concessions to the government. Certain premises of government policy, like the utility of the European army and the Schuman Plan, it now takes for granted, when a year ago it might have been more critical. The paper is also increasingly anti-Communist, which does not, however, preclude ferocious attacks on the crazier aspects of United States policy, on unofficial phenomena like *Collier's* World War III issue, or on the recent mission of John Foster Dulles to give aid and comfort to Syngman Rhee just when hopes for an armistice were brightest. If through the pressure of events *Le Monde* has become in certain ways *conformiste*, it still seldom fails to sound the alarm when it detects some particularly dangerous symptom of drift toward war. The restoration of full authority to Beuve-Méry is a tribute to his spirit and his extraordinary vigilance for peace, which even his enemies can no longer deny.

Coming in *The Nation*

PEACE IN KOREA

AND THE PROBLEMS IT BRINGS

What happens when—and if—peace comes to Korea? *The Nation* has asked some distinguished commentators on the Far East to discuss the problems that will confront us once the fighting stops. *Owen Lattimore, Lawrence K. Rosinger, Kim Yong-jeung, Arthur L. Grey, Jr.*, and *Walter Sullivan* have contributed thought-provoking analyses which will be printed in successive issues, beginning early in January.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

To Fill a Wilderness

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICANISMS. Edited by Mitford M. Mathews. Two Volumes. The University of Chicago Press. $50.

IT WOULD take a lexicographer to write a review of "A Dictionary of Americanisms"—this is only an appreciation. Lexicographers say very convincingly, in several reviews I have read, that the dictionary is a judicious, copious, and unusually excellent book. That they said so pleased me, its faithful reader: I have owned and lived with and read around in this dictionary for several months, long enough to have developed a strong patriotic feeling about it—I would hate to have anybody look down on it. But who is going to look down on a book that costs fifty dollars? a book whose two dignified black-and-blue volumes are so monumental that one is afraid either to lift them or to put them down on anything but the floor? a book that makes "Huckleberry Finn" look like one of the posthumous works of Jean Racine? I am not joking; this is the most American book that I have ever read. It contains most of the new words that we Americans invented, and most of the new meanings we found for the words that we already had; some are illustrated by tame, pleasant, informative little drawings, and all are illustrated—in the most satisfying profusion—by wild, wonderful, more than informative quotations from newspapers and magazines and books and letters and speeches. Here are our fathers in direct quotation.

These quotations have not lost their life with the years, and that life is—to us—a mixed blessing, something that both delights and disquiets. As we read these quotations we may see our nation's life as Yeats saw his own—as a preparation for something that never happened. The quotations dump us into a small new world that may seem to us older and larger than our own—a world of which we may seem to ourselves, in some sense, the dwarfed and scanty survivors. (I think that George Washington would be extremely afraid of the traffic on the Merritt Parkway, but I think that we would be afraid of George Washington.) The people who wrote these quotations had left a good deal in Europe, and it was impossible for them to fill a wilderness with what they had kept; they made up things fast—more than anyone else has ever made up, that fast—and as they made them they looked around with the confidence of accomplishment. If they didn't have it they could get it for you. They took their chances and the chances always worked—or if they didn't, the people they didn't work for were dead and didn't get into the quotations: all *these* words, you can see from a block away, were made by the livest of the live, men who named the plants and animals of a new world as Adam and Eve named those of Paradise, but with less hesitation. *Never explain, never excuse,* advised one of an older and uneasier race; these people explained and excused at the top of their voices, not needing to, just wanting to—it was one more thing to do, and they did everything. But they knew that they were their own excuse for being; or would have known it if they had had to stop to think about it. I sound rhetorical, but consider what I'm writing about! It would look tame to them: "I'm all brimstone, and ride the roughest rocking horse in any three of the United States," as one of them says under *Brimstone.*

Some of them remind us, sometimes, of men from Plutarch, and this is not just because they were imitating men from Plutarch. They had escaped from the scheme of things, and had set up a new one somewhere west of the sun and west of the moon. It was a kind of fault in time, a vacation from necessity; and it is hard for their descendants to have to come back to the human condition, to Europe, to the West that they had sailed west away from, and to face across Europe those Europeans who had gone east to make another people half-European. As we and the Russians look at each other over Europe, how bitterly the Europeans must think, *No more colonies!* For Montezuma never sent an ambassador to the Vatican, or one bomber to bases in Tripolitania; and Genghis Khan, say what you like about him, stopped a long way east of Berlin.

Philosophers talk about a very primitive but very certain form of knowing called *knowledge by acquaintance.* As I read this dictionary (it is much too good merely to look things up in, you *read* it, and you don't complain of any lack of plot: that it is what it is and you are what you are is plot enough) I couldn't help feeling that it is just such knowledge of America that this book gives you or reminds you that you already have. It is knowledge of an America part of which has ceased to exist; but this is the echo of all of it.

RANDALL JARRELL

An Ancient Problem

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNDER ATTACK. Edited by Clair Wilcox. University of Pennsylvania Press. $3.50.

CRISIS IN FREEDOM. By John C. Miller. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

THE COMMUNIST PROBLEM IN AMERICA. Edited by Edward E. Palmer. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $3.50.

THESE three books deal with recurring aspects of an ancient problem: the reaction of organized society toward the fear of revolution—a reaction usually out of all proportion to the magnitude of the danger. That such was the case when the Alien and Sedition Laws were passed out of fear of revolutionary France is made quite clear by Professor Miller's book. That we are in danger of sacrificing our liberty because of our fear of Soviet Russia is the thesis of the articles collected under the title "Civil Liberties Under Attack." And one can draw the same inference—although perhaps it was not so intended by its editor—from Mr. Palmer's compendium.

This last book, "The Communist Problem in America," is a reprint of many interesting speeches, articles, and documents—often in slightly abridged form. It contains pieces by Marx, Lenin,

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Stalin, and other exponents of communism; by Max Eastman, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Sidney Hook, and other opponents. It includes Justice Jackson's opinion in the Taft-Hartley Communist-oath case, the report of the American Civil Liberties Union on the Peekskill riot, and President Truman's message vetoing the McCarran act. The book deals with education, freedom of assembly, labor unions, the loyalty program, and the Smith act. While the editor stresses the danger of communism, he is not altogether unaware of the danger to liberty in the effort to suppress communism. And he has reprinted some pieces which reflect that point of view, notably Professor Meiklejohn's discussion of academic freedom. Included also is a piece by Alfred Friendly that is critical of Senator McCarthy. An appendix which reprints the latest available "Guide to Subversive Organizations" put out by the Committee on Un-American Activities includes all organizations listed by eleven federal, state, or municipal agencies. There is a footnote of caution, that some of the organizations have sued for the removal of their names.

Quite different is "Civil Liberties Under Attack." This consists of lectures delivered at Swarthmore. Professor Clair Wilcox of that institution describes them as voices of common sense spoken in the midst of hysteria. Here we have a university president, a judge, and several professors, all of whom, with varying emphasis, stress the danger to the community that results when people are afraid to speak out or join associations lest they be branded as Communists. To be sure, two of the pieces do not deal with that basic issue. Professor Carr discusses the need for greater racial equality; Judge Bok charmingly describes some of the absurdities in attempts which have been made to censor literature and the arts. Professors Chafee and Gellhorn give us the distillation of their own earlier excellent books. Professor Commager meets head-on the argument that suppression is justified in the name of society by pointing out that a society with our traditions can survive only if it is free.

The most provocative piece is that by President Baxter of Williams. He upholds the right of teachers to express unpopular ideas but would dismiss avowed Communists because of their adherence to an organization which substitutes dogmatism for the search for truth. He ignores the possibility that individual Communists might still be excellent teachers, no more willing to subordinate their integrity than anyone else holding positive views on certain subjects. But while President Baxter deplores loyalty oaths and the procedures at California, he is silent on the troublesome question of whether other efforts to find out who is a Communist are not also destructive of that atmosphere of freedom he cherishes.

Though there are casual references in some of these addresses to the Alien and Sedition Laws, the comparison of those times with our own is not drawn. But Professor Miller's book shows how nice a parallel there is. Fear of revolution in France was used as an excuse to strike at liberal ideas at home. There was a "cold" war which many believed might flare up into a shooting one. And our ancestors were repeatedly warned of what "they" had done to little democratic Switzerland. Of course there are vital differences. But is it pressing the parallel too far to suggest that just as then the hysteria subsided when French policy changed, so ours will end with any let-up in Soviet hostility?

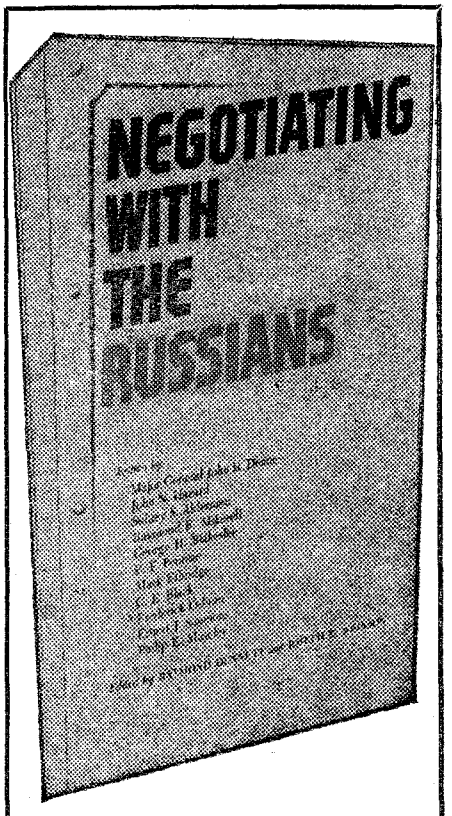
In the meantime these books may help us to preserve our sanity.

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

Cautionary Tales

NEGOTIATING WITH THE RUSSIANS. Edited by Raymond Dennett and Joseph E. Johnson. World Peace Foundation. $3.50.

SOONER or later, according to present theory, the United States will negotiate with the Russians from a position of superior strength. It was therefore a good idea for a number of Americans who had negotiated with the Russians to describe what it was like; and the book will be ransacked for lessons for the future. They are not far to seek. The Russians do not negotiate in the Western sense of the term. Sometimes they bargain; more often they seek to wear down the patience of the other side. Usually they understand the point at issue. This does not lead them to seek a compromise, but rather to devise some trick by which they can get



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their own way. One of them defined the Russian attitude to Frederick Osborn: "Mr. Osborn, you may be sincere, but governments are never sincere." This is certainly true of the Soviet government whatever it may be of others; and any future negotiators will go wrong who do not bear it constantly in mind.

No Russian, short of Stalin, is free to negotiate: he can only state the Russian case and then refer to Moscow for instructions. This is the price which they, and everyone else, have to pay for the purges and the terror; and it is a price which will get higher every year. Certainly there have been successful negotiations in the past. The essential condition for this is not merely that the Russians should want agreement on a particular point but that they should want agreement in general. Russian diplomacy is Oriental diplomacy: it assumes that men can be ingratiated by ignoble means, and often it is not far wrong. And of course even if the men at the top ordered an agreement, those lower down would still cheat in its execution. In short, the best way to retain a high opinion of the Russians is to have no dealings with them at all, or at any rate to recognize that they live in a world of terror and suspicion which it will take generations to remove.

Still some negotiations will be inevitable, and the only point of them is that they should succeed. At least they should not make things worse than they are. Some of the writers in this book were clearly willing to show infinite patience and were not discouraged when their negotiations failed. Others hardly conceal their inclination to bang the table. The future of the world probably depends on whether American diplomacy follows the first or the second example. Those of us who compose the table in world affairs hope, though with increasing skepticism, that the Americans will not bang it. This book will, for the most part, encourage more conciliatory methods. To complete the effect, it should be followed by another symposium, written by British or French officials, on negotiating with both the Americans and the Russians; and then, best of all, a book by Russians entitled "Negotiating with the Americans." This might show that the Americans were always conciliatory, always understanding, always anxious for a genuine compromise, never assertive that the United States was the richest and most powerful country in the world. Or, on the other hand, it might not.

A. J. P. TAYLOR

Angry Novel

WE FISHED ALL NIGHT. By Willard Motley. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3.75.

MR. MOTLEY'S angry novel tells the story of three poor Chicago boys who survive the war but not the post-war world. Chet Kosinski, who had attempted to escape from poverty by changing his name to Don Lockwood and acting with a little theater group, loses a leg and uses his histrionic ability and his physical disability to become a corrupt politician. Aaron Levin, a walker in the city, goes into the army only long enough to be discharged as a psycho and to "resign from the human race." Jim Norris, an over-handsome union organizer, is sexually disoriented during the war, and escapes degradation as a pervert only by sacrificing his life in a strike at the factory that is the backdrop against which all Mr. Motley's characters are seen.

Reviewers have commented favorably on Mr. Motley's characterization of Don Lockwood, which seems to me to be precisely the area of his book that exposes most sharply the weakness of his method. (There is more to be said for his portrait of Jim Norris as an honest man tormented by erotic nightmares, and there are pages where this torment is deeply affecting.) The story of the poor boy who betrays his class is already a cliché, and has been done far better by Dos Passos and others less gifted.

Actually it is harder to discover what Mr. Motley is driving at than if he had written an experimental or avant-garde novel. At times he seems to be saying that the war warped American young men, but we know now that, for a variety of reasons, our ex-soldiers of both wars have not become either nihilists or killers, not even those who have lost limbs. At other times he seems to be writing a proletarian novel, imputing the misery of his heroes to their miserable and poverty-stricken boyhoods and to the greed of a senile factory owner; but the main direction of American life has long since turned away from that indicated by the novelists of this school.

The paradoxical truth is that while realistic novels like Mr. Motley's have a superficial correspondence to the facts of American life—so that to Europeans they probably have the quality of revelations—in actuality they express all too little of the inner quality of our existence and seem rather like the troubled utterances of writers who feel that they should have something strong and polemical to say about the ugliness of the post-war world but do not quite know what it is that they must say, or even how it should be said.

HARVEY SWADOS

The Modern Context

THE WAY BEYOND "ART"—THE WORK OF HERBERT BAYER. By Alexander Dorner. Wittenborn, Schultz. $6.

I SHALL be sorry for those readers who fail to get from reading this book that increment of meaning and vitality to perception, to taste and judgment, to enjoyment, that these pages have in them to supply." These are the closing words of the glowing Introduction which John Dewey has supplied to Dr. Dorner's book.

It is good to find emphasis on enjoyment in art at the beginning of a book which tells us what is wrong with our customary aesthetic enjoyment. The stress on enjoyment is especially fortunate because of one important paradox which the book makes clear. Except that it is more fundamental, it might be considered one phase of the famous old hedonistic paradox that the sure way to miss pleasure in life is by its deliberate pursuit. Dr. Dorner shows that a society which allows art to become a *mere* recreation is no longer re-*creative* or capable of yielding the rich and deeply satisfying joys of visual communication. Visual communication is such a pervasive aspect of human living that unless its success is insured through the creation of new and modern forms, the enjoyment of modern life is impossible.

Human beings can only see the environment which they have. This environment happens to be modern. Even the ancient masterpieces which may be looked at in isolated splendor in the traditional museum or a private collec-

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tion are permeated by the context in which they now inorganically exist. The difficulty of looking at a picture is perhaps complicated by the fact that we see only by means of our past experience. But this fact also reveals how these indispensable cultural inheritances and habits can be deliberately utilized to release new creative forms. From his own rich experience as museum director Dr. Dorner suggests how such aesthetic utilization of the past can be achieved.

Because we see in the world in which we act it seems necessary that "functionalism and the new vision merge and transform each other." Dr. Dorner chooses Herbert Bayer to illustrate for us how this process can occur, and how it can achieve an inner dynamic unity —*inner* to the interacting process of living, not merely to an unconscious dream world of an "artist."

The extended analysis of the work of Bayer provides for the reader in part the increment to his aesthetic enjoyment to which Dewey refers in the Introduction. But as Dewey indicates, aesthetic enjoyment cannot be separated from judgment. The remainder of the book is a penetrating philosophical analysis of changing historical art forms and efforts, and of changing realities, which shows why traditional visual art standards have become inadequate for aesthetic judgment and enjoyment in the *real* relativities of the contemporary world.

Let us take only one, somewhat sophisticated, example. Attacks on the concept of causation by Dewey, Einstein, Wittgenstein, and others even less radical in their thinking do not imply that the concept has no practical utility. But the modern scientific situation definitely requires that causation take its place, along with concept of purpose, in the category of human activity. It has become an anthropomorphic fallacy to project it into the cosmos. Dr. Dorner not only succeeds in illuminating this difficult problem, but he helps us to see how, in the dynamics of modern art, cosmic causation is giving way to the "autonomous change" of process.

Forms of Marxism, as well as public-relations practices, share responsibility for degrading the concern with the cultural functions of art to an unaesthetic concern with "propaganda" effects of "art." In any case, "the way beyond 'art'" paves the road to an intelligent and aesthetic concern with the cultural functions of art. Unless they are performed by art, they will not be performed; and aesthetic enjoyment will be forgotten. It is the exceptional merit of Dr. Dorner's book that it shows how life permeated with art can become a crucial achievement of a technological and scientific age. It is up to artists, but it is also up to us.

HORACE S. FRIES

Books in Brief

THE RIDDLE OF EMILY DICKINSON. By Rebecca Patterson. Houghton Mifflin. $4.50. Given the intensity of Emily Dickinson's personal relationships, one supposes a book like Rebecca Patterson's was bound to come along sooner or later. In brief, Mrs. Patterson constructs from Emily's friendship with Katie Anthon an "affair," complete with a bedroom scene and a rejection, that unlocks the secret of Emily's poetry, carefully guarded by her surviving relatives until Mrs. Patterson nosed it out. This edifying result is arrived at by a series of unsubstantiated hypotheses and a flagrant manipulation of the poetry to a literal or symbolical sense, depending on which at the moment best suits the author's thesis. Apart from the question of proof, the book in its handling of its subject is a model of biographical and critical ineptitude.

HITLER'S INTERPRETER. By Paul Schmidt. Macmillan. $4. Behind-the-scenes glimpses of German diplomacy from 1935 to 1945 as observed by Hitler's chief interpreter. No revelations or deep illuminations but a good many fascinating off-guard glimpses of dictators and diplomats at work and of Hitler's techniques of negotiation.

YEARS OF MADNESS. By W. E. Woodward. Putnam. $4. "The story of the Civil War, if truthfully told, sounds like the group experiences of a nation of madmen. In the first place, there was nothing at stake that could not have been adjusted. The proof of this is that the Union did endure and differences were adjusted. Had the South retained its voting strength in Congress during the years given over to war and Reconstruction it could have avoided the onerous and even harsh results of that adjustment." It is, perhaps, a little less than fair to single out the passage quoted as typical of this "reappraisal of the Civil War"; nevertheless it is an example, though extreme, of the illogic and contradictions that run through a book that gives the impression of having been thrown together with considerable haste and a single-minded desire to prove the author's theory that "there is hardly anything in modern history so absolutely foolish as this war."

WILLIAM HEARD KILPATRICK: TRAIL BLAZER IN EDUCATION. By Samuel Tenenbaum. Harper and Brothers. $4. The life and philosophy of one of America's most influential educators, whose work at Teachers College of Columbia University has profoundly affected the methods of teaching here and abroad. Dr. Tenenbaum writes vigorously and with unqualified enthusiasm.

THE PERON ERA. By Robert J. Alexander. Columbia. $3.50. A detailed history of the Peronista regime—its background, the methods by which it seized and has held power; its relations with labor, the church, the army, and the schools; and its economic and foreign policies. An honest, sober, compact, and disturbing book.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ACCORDING to the general opinion expressed a few seasons ago, John Patrick's "The Hasty Heart" was an interesting play not quite at home on Broadway. Its subject—the gradual humanizing of a dour Scotch soldier dying in a military hospital—was not very cheerful, and the treatment in a minor key was a little too subdued for a noisy street. Contemplating Mr. Patrick's new offering, one gets the impression that he was rather too determined that no such criticisms should be made this time and that "Lo and Behold!" (Booth Theater) is a bit on the brassy side. I joined in the laughter of an audience which seemed to find it highly satisfactory, but I had always the feeling that what might have been a farce comedy with a special tone and flavor degenerated into the commonplace and was funny in mostly expected ways. Even an admirable cast, which included among others the suave Leo Carroll, the engagingly awkward Lee Grant—formerly the shoplifter in "Detective Story"—and the always dependable Doro Merande, never succeed for long in stamping it with any unique cachet.

The initial situation is unusual enough. Mr. Carroll is a famous and very cynical writer who dies serenely during the first quarter-hour of the play, leaving a will in which he provides that his house shall be kept forever vacant so that, if he should survive as a ghost, he may haunt in peaceful solitude his own beloved rooms. Shortly after arising as an astral body he discovers two disconcerting facts: (1) that empty houses are much favored by ghosts and that he can do nothing about a mad pianist, a Southern belle shot by a rejected suitor, and a smelly Indian maid, all of whom have moved in on him; (2) that a substitute maid, hired a few days before his demise has picked up enough of his Machiavellian morality to take advantage of several coincidences to claim his estate as an illegitimate daughter. For a time, until all the difficulties are happily resolved, it rather looks as though Mr. Carroll were going to spend eternity not only in very uncongenial company but also compelled to contemplate the consequences of his own amoral writings.

No doubt the moral of all this is that Machiavellianism looks better on paper than in practice, but this moral gets pretty well submerged in the farcical complications, and that is perhaps just as well. What is not just as well is the fact that these same farcical complications among ghosts are not quite sufficiently different from those which occur in farces where the persons concerned are not, admittedly, dead. The heavy hand of the gag writer seems to be responsible for quite a good many of the laughs, and the humor of these airy spirits is seldom sufficiently airy. I am afraid that the odiousness of comparison cannot be indefinitely avoided. Like, probably, every other commentator I find myself compelled to say: "Lo and Behold" just doesn't achieve that special atmosphere which made "Blithe Spirit" seem to be, in fact rather than merely by premise, a comedy about ghosts.

"POINT OF NO RETURN" (Alvin Theater) is a sweet and sour, smart and sentimental concoction, spiked with fashionable references to anthropology. It deals with the fortunes and family life of a young man who works in a bank and aspires to be a vice-president—he gets the job. The piece is handsomely mounted. Its star is Henry Fonda, whom everybody loves and who remains Henry Fonda throughout, though his name in the play is Charles Gray. Leora Dana as Mrs. Gray is charming and convincing, and Malcolm Bryant as the anthropologist wields his abstractions with a suitable air of humorous, and impervious, omniscience. I found it amusing and boring by turns, but I suspect it will give many people the feeling that they are enjoying a serious play. It is already a hit. M. M.

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Ballet

B. H. HAGGIN

IF Balanchine's "Apollo" in 1928 defined the new personal classical style he was to develop and elaborate in subsequent works, his "Four Temperaments" in 1947 gave us that development and elaboration at its highest point, in a much larger work filled much more densely with invention exciting in its richness and complexity, its imaginative and expressive power, its unending profusion and variety. That invention was more clearly revealed and had more impact in the New York City Ballet's recent revival, which discarded the hideous, irrelevant, and absurd cos-

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tumes that had obscured it; but though no costumes were better than the bad ones, a work that is "melancholic, sanguinic, phlegmatic, and choleric" should be better with good costumes than with none. Another change was the revision of the end, which I thought increased its effectiveness.

"The Fairy's Kiss," which also was restored to the repertory, is one of the greatest of the works in which Balanchine's classical style serves his dramatic imagination and theater sense. The original conclusion has never worked at City Center; and Balanchine's experiments with substitutes continued until the very last of the recent performances, where he achieved what seemed to me exactly right: the room from which the fairy has dragged the bridegroom remains empty; the bride returns in bewildered, anguished search of him, recalls moments of her earlier happiness there with him, and slowly sinks to the ground; then the room disappears and the triumphant fairy is seen with the bridegroom for a moment before the curtain falls. Or at least it seemed right with LeClercq on the stage to communicate the bride's tragic desolation, as earlier she had communicated her sweetness and gaiety, with a force of presence and projection and a range of expressive power that amaze one anew in her every performance.

Of Balanchine's two new works, "Tyl Ulenspiegel" is a product almost entirely of his theater sense—a spectacle with magnificent scenery and costumes by Esteban Frances, an action piece with amusing incidents which are made effective by Robbins's gifts as a comedian, but almost no dancing. It is, then, a good work of its kind (and for its purpose of drawing people to the box office); but the kind—since it doesn't employ the most important of Balanchine's powers—keeps it from being a work of much consequence; and I doubt that it had much interest for him.

On the other hand I doubt that he has ever done anything he cared more about than his new version of Act 2 of "Swan Lake," which engaged all his powers, and which is one of the most beautiful and most consequential of their achievements. It engaged, first of all, his remarkable powers as a musician: what he talked most about was Tchaikovsky's music—the fact that it had been put together with a mastery of musical construction like Stravinsky's, that it had always been played and danced to in a way which had destroyed its subtleties of accentuation and phrase-construction, and that these would now be heard in the music and seen in the dancing. Those musical powers are evident in the two pieces of music he has introduced from Act 3 and the dances he has invented for them—a brilliant pas de trois, superbly danced by Wilde with Fontaine and Jillana; and a pas de neuf which is the most enchantingly beautiful number in the entire ballet, exquisitely danced by Mounsey and the corps. His dramatic powers are evident not only in the revisions which create a clear line of dramatic meaning in the first encounter and last scene of the swan queen and the prince, but above all in his invention for the swans—their wonderfully animated entrance and first waltz, their groupings when threatened by the hunters, their hair-raising swirling and rushing at the end. And no doubt his theater sense had something to do with the magnificent scenery by Beaton.

Tallchief dances the swan queen not only with her technical perfection and brilliance but with the lovely delicacy that she has acquired in the last couple of years, and with dramatic expressiveness. The one thing her performance lacks is the projected personal presence and force that made Danilova's and Markova's the great performances they were. As for Eglevsky, he is less damaging to this work than to "Apollo" only because there is less of him.

The pied piper of Robbins's new ballet of that title is the solo clarinetist of the performance of Copland's Clarinet Concerto, who sits in a corner in the front of the bare stage, and whose playing, we are asked to believe, lures onto that stage dancers in practice clothes and impels them to dance. As it happens, the music, to my ears, is something contrived by an efficient technique out of no ideas; and so there is, for me, no lyricism in the slow first movement to produce the soaring lifts and other lyrical movements of the first pair of dancers. Neither am I able to believe in the make-believe of the violent compulsive effects of the fragmentary jazz figures of the cadenza and the second movement; and most of the resulting movements that the audiences have found terribly funny I find terribly and embarrassingly cute and corny. Nor, finally, can I believe in the climactic compulsive effect of the music at the end, which is to drive the dancers frantic, and which I suspect represents a Serious Idea, this time about the Jazz Age. There were no Serious Ideas in "Fancy Free" and the wonderful ballets of "High Button Shoes" and "Look Ma, I'm Dancing"; if there had been they probably would have been no better than "The Age of Anxiety" and "The Pied Piper"—to say nothing of "Facsimile" and "The Cage."

In Tudor's "Lilac Garden," in which Kaye and Laing danced their old roles very well, LeClercq's distinction and force created, for me, the only moments of the "amplitude of meaning" that art—and dancing, like any other art—can give.

CONTRIBUTORS

RANDALL JARRELL has recently published "The Seven-League Crutches."

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, a practicing lawyer in New York, is the author of "Our Civil Liberties."

A. J. P. TAYLOR is fellow and tutor in modern history at Magdalen College, Oxford University.

HORACE S. FRIES is professor of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin.

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Letters to the Editors

A. F. T. Membership Restrictions

Dear Sirs: I wish to report an interesting and significant sequel to my article, Four-Point Agenda for Education, in the December 15 issue of *The Nation*. One of the four points was the recommendation that teachers join the American Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.) as offering "the best immediate expectation of a nation-wide, autonomous union of teachers backed by millions of other skilled workers." I had been a member and local officer of the A. F. T. for about ten years, but had withdrawn for a time because of such questions as were raised in the article. In the course of writing it, however, I became convinced that, despite these questions and to be consistent with my own recommendation, I should rejoin the A. F. T.

The application form which I signed specifies that "no discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members because of race, religious faith, or political activity or beliefs, except that no applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control such as Fascist, Nazi, or Communist shall be admitted to membership."

My political actions are not and have never been subject to any form of totalitarian control. . . . On principle, however, I do question the right of organizations representing public school teachers in a democracy to exclude members of any legally recognized party, and I hold the belief that the right of dissent must be granted to any citizen of a democracy or to any member of a democratic organization. In accordance with these convictions I appended the following to my application: "I shall abide by this provision since it is sanctioned by a majority of the membership, but I shall also seek to persuade the majority that it is undesirable." There was no question of my acceptance of the central justification for the A. F. T.'s existence. . . . What I did request was simply the right to criticize while abiding by the provision, and to persuade as many as I could that its effect is likely to be injurious to the cause of academic freedom.

Yet just before publication of my article I was notified that my application for renewed membership was rejected by the Executive Board of the Teachers Guild, New York local of the A. F. T. I appeal to members to request reconsideration of the application, as evidence of the A. F. T.'s regard for such beliefs as the right to dissent, and also as evidence that A. F. T. practice agrees with its own explicit qualifications for membership.

THEODORE BRAMELD

New York

Pleased Reader

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on the series The Battle for Free Schools, devoted to the exposure of the enemies, open and hidden, of education in this country.

F. L. KUNZ, Executive Officer,
Foundation for Integrated Education
New York

Misleading or . . .

Dear Sirs: The article Quebec's Bitter Brew in your issue of October 20 is misleading in several respects:

1. Quebec is not "Canada's greatest industrial province." The latest figures (August 18) of the official quarterly *Labour Force* give Quebec's non-agricultural labor force as 1,230,000, and Ontario's as 1,633,000; Quebec's non-agricultural "persons with jobs" as 1,203,000, Ontario's as 1,614,000; Quebec's "paid workers" (salary and wage earners, practically all non-agricultural) as 1,077,000, Ontario's as 1,489,000. On August 1 Quebec's employees in the nine leading groups of industries (forestry, mining, manufacturing, construction, transportation, storage, communication, public-utility operation, trade, finance, insurance, real estate, and service) numbered 691,483, with a total weekly pay roll of $33,184,-269.17; Ontario's numbered 1,026,059, with a total weekly pay roll of $53,-662,885.70. Quebec is ahead of Ontario in forestry (30,085 employees to Ontario's 19,305), but is behind in every other industry. In manufacturing alone Ontario leads by over 200,000 employees.

2. Mr. Montcalm's remarks on the "St. Laurent-Duplessis axis" are also inaccurate. He might just as well talk about the "Truman-Taft" or "Truman-MacArthur" axis. "Duplessis' role in the axis," says Mr. Montcalm, "is to insure that the French Canadians submit to conscription, to heavy taxation, and if necessary to foreign war." Mr. Montcalm does not offer a tittle of evidence to support this statement. . . .

3. Mr. Montcalm says Mr. Howe "is known to the cynical as 'our American Gauleiter.'" This is news to me. He also says that "the Ottawa bosses" want to "lead it [Quebec] to war," a statement which is fantastically untrue.

Surely the suggestion that the Canadian government is one of "warmongers" ought to have put you on your guard. Or are you innocent enough to believe such tommyrot? It might be well to make a few inquiries before you print statements which well-informed Canadians know to be ridiculous.

EUGENE FORSEY,
Director of Research,
Canadian Congress of Labor
Ottawa, Canada

. . . Misled?

Dear Sirs: I have no doubt Dr. Forsey's figures on labor force are correct. But in calling Quebec Canada's greatest industrial province, I was thinking of its *heavy* industry, its aluminum, copper, iron, and titanium industries, its forests, its airplane manufacturing and shipbuilding, and its hydroelectric power—almost half the whole Dominion's. The point was that all this is essential to the American war effort.

As for "evidence," any newspaper would tell Dr. Forsey that the Liberal government is furnishing territory, material, and men to be used as the United States sees fit. I did not call its leaders "warmongers," but if they feel any reluctance about rearmament and the drive to war, they certainly conceal it. One tragedy of the situation is that the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation national leadership, including Dr. Forsey, accepts uncritically the Liberals' foreign policy. Provincial leaders, especially in Quebec and Saskatchewan where the C. C. F. indorsed Bevan's stand, and many of the C. C. F. rank and file oppose it.

The Co-op Press, the C. C. F.'s own press agency, refutes Dr. Forsey's criticism of my statements about the St. Laurent-Duplessis axis.

About Quebec, I can only say that, like a great many English Canadians, Dr. Forsey is ill-informed on events and obviously does not follow French Canadian opinion.

HENRY MONTCALM

Montreal, Canada

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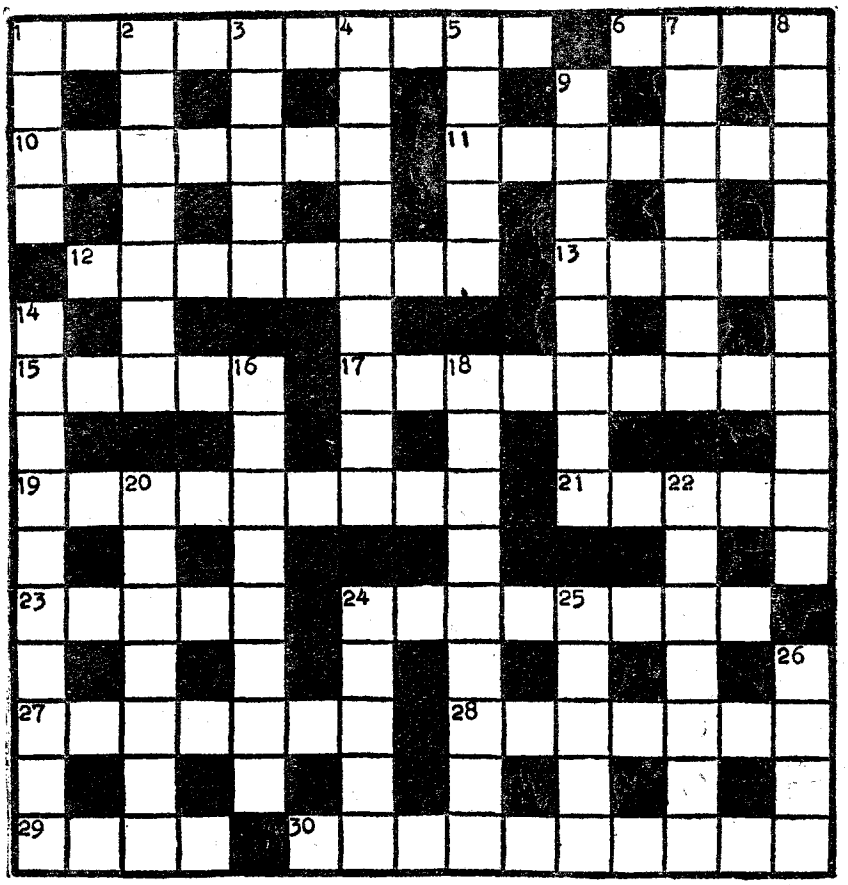
Crossword Puzzle No. 445

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 10. Periodically, a Vesey Street blessed event? (3, 5, 2, 1, 6)
6 Take off for the out-building! (4)
10 See 1 across.
11 Grave. (7)
12 Manages to study tubes. (8)
13 Leave nothing in South America! (5)
15 Influx in a group of games. (5)
17 This makes us go white, yet we're lighter than that which does it to us. (9)
19 The sort that describe aren't the sort which point. (9)
21 and 7 down. Make sport of drums with cry of derision. (12)
23 The anointed are well. (5)
24 Change a tire before the copper is inclined not to say anything! (8)
27 Why the field goal didn't count? (At the start of the game, too!) (7)
28 Club - - - for high-ranking officers that is! (7)
29 A jerk? Not when he's one of us! (4)
30 Frivolous talk is a sort of gripe? False! (10)

DOWN

1 What happens in the spring up north? (4)
2 Names or charms. (7)
3 I contended such things should be green! (5)
4 Counties a holding made possible. (9)
5 Nothing just as it stands could be so welcome to the thirsty. (5)
7 See 21 across.
8 Oust. (10)
9 Often looks sort of queer in the middle. (8)
14 Flying saucer pilot? (4, 6)
16 How one enters a two-wheel carriage? (4, 4)
18 One of the first things to do if trouble 15? (4, 5)
20 What is able to claim it's a perfect food? (4, 3)
22 Some things are beyond recall with it. (7)
24 Pilfer? All but the soft spot is misplaced! (5)
25 Refuse to ridicule someone. (5)
26 No more than a poetic lake. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 444

ACROSS:—1 BREAKING GROUND; 9 HACKING; 10 ACHAEAN; 11 NEPOTISTS; 12 HELLO; 13 THRONED; 15 HOLED UP; 16 EXTENDS; 18 TROUBLE; 20 ISSUE; 21 REPROBATE; 23 EQUALLY; 24 CLIMATE; 25 CONSIDERATIONS.

DOWN:—1 BEHIND THE TIMES; 2 ESCAPER; 3 KNITTING NEEDLES; 4 NEGUS; 5 GRASSCHAT; 6 OPHTHALMOLOGIST; 7 NEEDLED; 8 INCOMPLETENESS; 14 DESTROYED; 17 TESTUDO; 19 BRAVADO; 22 PACER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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On helping young people to think for themselves

THE propagandists of orthodoxy, both of the Right and of the Left, have always made special efforts to capture and to curb the minds of students. Those of us who care about freedom must do as much to keep *our* viewpoint before the new generation. These considerations recently led a liberal-minded Chicago businessman to take action.

¶ He arranged with *The Nation* to obtain a list of the valedictorians in the high schools of his city. To each of these honor students he sent a year's subscription to *The Nation,* both as a reward for scholarship and as a stimulus to further independent thinking. An honor certificate and a letter from *The Nation's* editor, crediting the donor of the award, went to each winner.

¶ Many other readers of *The Nation* have found merit in this idea, and have added their help to the program. We recommend it to your attention as an honorable investment in the future of freedom. Young people today are being led to believe that there is something "disloyal" about exercising their traditional American liberties. *The Naton,* as America's oldest liberal weekly, may serve as an antidote to this dangerous lie, and as an example to future voters of how to think for themselves about social and political matters.

¶ If you would like to support such a program in your own community, *The Nation* will be happy to cooperate. Subscriptions for this purpose are available at half the usual rate, and we will attend to all the necessary arrangements.

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